

Message Text

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46

ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 INRE-00 IO-03

NEA-06 L-02 SPC-01 PM-03 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10

NSAE-00 RSC-01 SAJ-01 OMB-01 EB-03 AF-04 DRC-01

EURE-00 SR-02 ORM-01 ACDA-10 SSO-00 /084 W

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FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2396

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS PRIORITY UNN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMMBASSY ROME PRIORITY 2588

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN PRIORITY

S E C R E T THE HAGUE 5081

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: NGDS

TAGS: PFOR, XF, NL

SUBJECT: CURRENT GON THINKING ON NEXT MOVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

1. FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR GENERAL VAN LYNDEN DISCUSSED MIDDLE EAST WITH DCM NOV 19 AND REACTED WITH SOME SUPRISE TO OUR AWARENESS OF THE ABORTIVE EC ORAL DEMARCHES TO THE ARAB STATES AND ISRAEL (BRUSSELS 6547 AND 6576). VAN LYNDEN URGED US OFFICIALS TO TREAT THIS SUBJECT WITH THE UTMOST DISCRETION. HE SAID THAT WHEREAS THE PREVIOUS EC JOINT EFFORT HAD DELIVERATELY TAKEN THE FORM OF A PUBLIC STATEMENT, THE IDEA THIS TIME WAS AN "UNDERCOVER"

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APPROACH THAT WOULD REMAIN A SECRET TO THE PUBLIC.

2. VAN LYNDEN MADE IT QUITE CLEAR THAT THE DUTCH HAD ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE PROPOSED ORAL DEMARCHE TO THE ARABS. IT WAS ESSENTIAL, IN THE DUTCH VIEW, TO LET THE ARABS KNOW THAT THERE WERE LIMITS TO HOW FAR THE EUROPEANS WOULD ALLOW THEMSELVES TO BE PUSHED AND PRESSURED BY THE OIL BOYCOTT. THE DUTCH ALSO WANTED TO SIGNAL FIRMLY TO THE ARABS THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TO SHOW AS MUCH RESPECT AND CONSIDERATION FOR EUROPEAN UNITY AS THEY EXPECTED OF THE EUROPEANS TOWARD ARAB UNITY. VAN LYNDEN SAID THAT IT CAME AS A SHARP PERSONAL DISAPPOINTMENT TO HIM THAT HIS FRENCH OPPOSITE NUMBER (PUAUX) WAS NOT ABLE TO GET A GREEN LIGHT FROM PARIS DESPITE SEVERAL TELEPHONE CALLS FROM COPENHAGEN. VAN LYNDEN SAID THAT HE WAS STILL HOPEFUL THAT THE FRENCH WOULD COME AROUND. THE DCM COMMENTED PERSONALLY THAT HE COULD NOT HELP BEING SKEPTICAL ON THIS POINT. IT APPEARED TO HIM THAT THE ARAB OBJECTIVE WAS TO BRING THE DUTCH AROUND BY APPLYING PRESSURE THROUGH SOME OF THE "FRIENDLY" EC STATES. THE DCM QUESTIONED WHETHER THE FRENCH WOULD BE A PARTY TO ANY ATTEMPT, HOWEVER OSTENSIBLY "EVEN-HANDED" AND UNPUBLICIZED, TO TAKE THE EDGE OFF THE PRO-ARAB EC DECLARATION, WITH THE ATTENDANT RISK FOR THE GOF FOR UNDERCUTTING ITS OWN PRIVILEGED POSITION ON OIL SUPPLIES.

3. VAN LYNDEN REJOINED WITH SOME HEAT THAT IF THE FRENCH WERE NOT PREPARED TO TAKE PRACTICAL STEPS TO IMPLEMENT EC SOLIDARITY AND THUS BUILD THE EUROPE WHICH THEY OFTEN TALK ABOUT, THE GON WOULD THEN BE FORCED TO ASK ITS PARTNERS SOME SEARCHING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE WHOLE PURPOSE OF THE EC. TO THIS END HE SAID THE FOREIGN MINISTRY HAD SENT A STRONG COMMUNICATION TO ALL THE OTHER EC CAPITALS, LAYING THE DUTCH POSITION ON THE LINE AND MAKING IT CLEAR THAT THE GON EXPECTED SOME CONCRETE RESULT RE THE MIDDLE EAST FROM THE NOV 20 EC MINISTERIAL. HE MENTIONED THAT VAN DER STOEL HAD MADE AN UNSCHEDULED VISIT TO BONN LAST SATURDAY, IMPLYING THAT IT WAS TO SEEK FRG SUPPORT FOR THE DUTCH POSITION IN THE EC. THE MOMENT OF TRUTH FOR THE EC HAD ARRIVED, VAN LYNDEN SAID. HE ELABORATED THAT A SECOND ANTI-DUTCH WAVE HAD ARRIVED ON TOP OF THE OIL BOYCOTT IN THE FORM OF A BOYCOTT AGAINST KLM BY SYRIA, BEIRUT AND LIBYA. IT LOOKED LIKE A BOYCOTT MIGHT ALSO BE APPLIED BY SEVERAL ARAB STATES AGAINST DUTCH SHIPPING. VAN LYNDEN INDICATED CLEARLY THAT THIS TRANSPORTATION BOYCOTT COULD WELL BE FOR THE DUTCH THE DROP THAT MAKES THE CLASS

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OVERFLOW.

4. VAN LYNDEN REFERRED BRIEFLY TO AMBASSADOR VAN ROYEN'S MISSION TO SAUDI ARABIA (THE HAGUE 4947). HE DID NOT CONCEAL THAT THE RESULTS HAD BEEN VERY DISAPPOINTING, ALTHOUGH HE WAS HOPEFUL THAT OVER THE LONGER TERM IT MIGHT HAVE A FAVORABLE EFFECT. BUT CLEARLY THE DUTCH HAD NO EXPECTATION NOW OF DETACHING SAUDI ARABIA FROM THE RIGOROUS OIL BOYCOTT AGAINST THE NETHERLANDS.

5. IN TALKING ABOUT THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S WHITE PAPER ON GON'S MIDDLE EAST POLICY (THE HAGUE 5068), VAN LYNDEN SAID THAT HE HAD TO GO TO THE MAT WITH ONE OF HIS MINISTRY COLLEAGUES (PRESUMABLY DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AFFAIRS MEIER) IN ORDER TO PERSUADE FONMIN VAN DER STOEL TO AGREE THAT THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEE ISSUE HAD A "POLITICAL DIMENSION" IN ADDITION TO A HUMANITARIAN ASPECT. VAN LYNDEN RECALLED THAT THE NIXON-BREZHNEV COMMUNIQUE OF MAY 1972 HAD INCLUDED LANGUAGE REGARDING THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. AS VAN LYNDEN WAS SUMMONED BY THE FONMIN, TIME DID NOT PERMIT FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THIS ASPECT OF THE GON'S WHITE PAPER. VAN LYNDEN ADMITTED, HOWEVER, THAT DESPITE GOVERNMENT ASSERTIONS TO THE CONTRARY, THIS NEW LANGUAGE DID REPRESENT A SHIFT IN GON POLICY TOWARD THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. AS WITH THE PROPOSAL THE NETHERLANDS EMBASSY FLOATED BILATERALLY WITH THE DEPT (STATE 227654) THE UNDERLYING PURPOSE IN INDICATING GON SUPPORT IN THE WHITE PAPER FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS WAS UNDOUBTEDLY TO INDUCE THE ARABS TO LOOK AT THE DUTCH WITH LESS JAUDICE.

6. THERE WAS LITTLE REFERENCE TO THE ISRAELIS DURING THE DISCUSSION WITH VAN LYNDEN. IN REFERRING TO THEIR DEMARCHE TO EC CAPITALS, HE CHOSE TO INTERPRET IT, PERHAPS ERRONEOUSLY, AS A RECOGNITION OF THEIR NEED, NOW THAT THE CEASE-FIRE HAD BEEN STABILIZED, TO GET BACK INTO COMMUNICATION WITH THE EUROPEANS. THE ISRAELI DEMARCHE, VAN LYNDEN SAID WRYL, SIMPLY SHOWED THAT "THEY ARE AS SMART AS MOST OF US THOUGHT THEY WERE."

7. COMMENT: VAN LYNDEN EMERGES AS ONE OF THE GON SENIOR OFFICIALS WHO IS TRYING TO INFLUENCE BOTH THE ARABAS AND THE NETHERLANDS' UNCOOPERATIVE EUROPEAN PARTNERS THROUGH PATIENT REASONING, APPEALS TO MUTALITY OF INTERESTS AND VERBAL GESTURES. THE TENOR OF HIS REMARKS SUGGESTS HOWEVER THAT THE PROPONENTS OF THIS MODERATE EC-

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SOLIDARITY THESIS IN THE GON MUST SOON BEGIN TO SHOW SOME RESULTS, PARTICULARLY AS REGARDS THE DUAL OIL AND TRANSPORTATION BOYCOTTS AGAINST THE NETHERLANDS, OR FACE UP TO AN AGONIZING REAPPRAISAL OF DUTCH POLICY.

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